Workers of the World, Unite!

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XII - No. 31 | NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, AUGUST 2, 1948 | PRICE: FIVE CENTS

CIVIL RIGHTS SPEECH BY FARRELL DOBBS

— See Page 4 —

'Remove SWP from Blacklist!' Dobbs Demands from Truman

Congress Plays Football with People's Needs

Only Socialist Workers Party Program Offers Solution to Inflation, Race Discrimination

By Farrell Dobbs, SWP Candidate for President

Truman's motives for calling a Special Session of Congress are obvious. It is strictly a pre-election political maneuver. But whatever his motives, he has posed many of the burning problems facing us all. His message to Congress plainly shows, however, he has posed these problems only to leave them unanswered.

As for the Republicans, their conduct in and outside of Congress show just as plainly they don't want these problems even raised. And so we have again the scandalous spectacle of both ruling capitalist parties playing political football with the people's needs.

Take the question of inflation. The Republicans say they want to let the "natural" economic laws run their course. That is, DO NOTHING! Let prices go up and up until—until the big boom busts!

Not that the Republicans are against any and all controls. They're just against government controls. They favor a special type of control — controls enforced by the "private government" of the huge monopolies. They fix prices, regulate production, ration out raw materials—all in the interests of their own unlimited profits.

Truman's proposals for government "control" of inflation are a mere rehash of his previous pitiful measures. They don't even touch the heart of inflation—the staggering war debt and the new burden of war preparations which Truman himself is foisting on the people.

That is why—though Truman has promised again and again to "halt" inflation—he has failed and must continue to fail. Washington's bipartisan war program can only feed inflation!

The ruling monopolies concerned exclusively with profit, the capitalist political parties concerned with preserving the capitalist interests and fattening on the spoils of office, can only rob the working people.

The Socialist Workers Party, whose message I bring to the country in this presidential campaign, is against the capitalist profit system. We fight for a Workers and Farmers Government and socialism. We have not the slightest interest in protecting the capitalists. That is why we can put forth the only realistic immediate answer to the burning problem of inflation.

The second plank of the SWP Election Platform declares: 'For the inclusion in all union contracts of an escalator clause (also known as the sliding scale of wages or automatic cost-of-living bonus) to meet the rising cost of living, with the safeguard that wages shall not fall below the basic rates established in the contract! For the application of this principle to wages of all government employes, veterans' allotments, old-age pensions and social security. For the establishment of price control, to be regulated and enforced by mass consumers committees of housewives, unionists, working farmers and small shopkeepers!"

Along with inflation, the immediate issue of the day is civil rights—particularly the fight to win first-class citizenship for the Negro people. For 16 years the Democratic Administration has sabotaged every move to end Jim-Crow discrimination and segregation. Now, three months before elections, Truman attempts a grandstand play for the Negro vote.

He issued two executive orders purporting to end discrimination in government departments and the armed forces. Every one can see the fraud in these orders. The order on the armed forces is silent about the key issue—segregation. The real meaning of this order is — segregation remains!

If inflation is to be curbed, if the Jim Crow system is to be destroyed root and branch, it will be done only by the mobilization of the working people of all races, united in mass action behind their own program. That is the cause for which my Party and I speak.

ON YOUR RADIO

FRIDAY, AUGUST 6

10:45 - 11:00 P. M. (EDT)

over National Broadcasting System

"ANSWER TO TRUMAN'S MESSAGE TO CONGRESS"

by

FARRELL DOBBS

SWP Presidential Candidate

Grace Carlson Opens National Tour in Far West

First Campaign Rally In Salt Lake City

As we go to press, word is being awaited of the first meetings in Salt Lake City and Denver, the first stops on the nationwide tour of Grace Carlson, the Socialist Workers Party Vice-Presidential candidate.

These meetings will break new grounds for Trotskyism in the west. Not since the days of the last depression, when Trotskyism flourished on the campus in universities in Salt Lake City and Denver, has the voice of revolutionary socialism been heard in these areas.

The Carlson tour in these areas comes in response to new worker members and sympathizers whose interest was aroused by the SWP presidential campaign and who are now eager to break ground for party branches. At the same time, work is being completed to put the party on the ballot in Utah and Colorado.

CARLSON

The tour by Farrell Dobbs, SWP Presidential candidate begins on August 18 in the State of Washington. First reports indicate meetings are being planned in Seattle, Tacoma and Aberdeen. Prior dates, previously scheduled for California, have been cancelled to permit Comrade Dobbs to participate in the challenge against Attorney-General Clark's subversive listing and in the appeal for the restoration of the civil rights of the 18 Minneapolis victims of the Smith Act.

The following are coming dates of the tour by Grace Carlson:

August 5-7, Denver
August 8, 9, en route
August 10-13, Chicago
August 14 en route
August 15-21 Michigan

The first dates of Farrell Dobbs' tour follows:

August 18-21 Washington State
August 22, 23 en route
August 24 Plentywood, Montana

In the Shadow of the Noose

N. Y. Petition Campaign Gets Off to Flying Start

By Irving Beinin, New York State SWP Campaign Manager

New York City, July 26—A total of 4,305 signatures was rolled up in the first weekend of the campaign to place the presidential and vice-presidential candidates of the Socialist Workers Party on the ballot in New York State. The campaign got off to a flying start with ten teams operating in various parts of New York State. A mobilization in New York City on the opening night netted a total of 2,400 signatures.

Incomplete reports from upstate teams indicate that the required minimum number of signatures has already been obtained in 16 of the 61 counties.

The New York election campaign was launched at a citywide membership meeting on July 22. The projected plans call for the most ambitious campaign ever conducted by the Socialist Workers Party in this state. The first and most essential task, the reporters explained, is to meet the stiff requirements of the undemocratic state election law in order to get on the ballot. This law was concocted by the capitalist politicians for the deliberate purpose of depriving minority parties of the elementary right to appear on the ballot by placing almost impossible obstacles in the road. It provides that such parties must obtain a minimum of 12,000 signatures, including at least 50 in each of the 61 counties in the state. In addition, a thousand booby traps are concealed in the legal provisions in the shape of numerous unreasonable and malicious technicalities.

Though the law fixes a six-week period in which such signatures may be collected, the plan adopted by the membership called for completion of the signature-gathering in four weeks. This will leave more time for political campaigning.

This second phase of the campaign as projected by the Campaign Committee, will open with a Trotsky Memorial meeting, which will at the same time be an Election Rally on Friday, Aug. 27 at the Hotel Diplomat.

Other plans include an intensive series of open air meetings, using loudspeaking equipment, throughout the city; speeches before unions, student groups; symposiums and radio forums; distribution of hundreds of thousands of pieces of campaign literature; door to door canvassing in working class districts; radio talks to be financed by a special radio fund and finally, a wind-up Election Rally at which both Dobbs and Carlson will speak.

In a special report, C. Thomas, Trade Union Director of Local New York, outlined plans to bring the Dobbs-Carlson Campaign into the labor movement.

Frank Field, Local Fund Drive Director, reported that all branches had accepted their quotas, and that $1,500 of the $7,500 New York quota had been raised in the first week of the campaign. The Painters Branch, the Brooklyn and East Side Branches, and the Internationalist Socialist Youth Club have already oversubscribed their quotas, Comrade Field reported.

Asks Justice Dept. Hearing On Listing as "Subversive"

NEW YORK, July 29 — At a press conference today in his national campaign headquarters here, Farrell Dobbs, SWP candidate for President, announced that the Socialist Workers Party has demanded a public hearing from Attorney General Tom Clark to seek the removal of the SWP from the political blacklist of "subversive" organizations issued by Truman's Department of Justice. Dobbs said he will insist at the hearing that the entire list be torn up.

Denouncing the political blacklist as an attempt to intimidate and victimize opponents of Truman's foreign and domestic policies, Dobbs told the representatives of the New York press:

"Truman has suddenly discovered there are abuses of civil rights in this country. Let him start removing these abuses by eliminating those he is directly responsible for. One of the first things we're demanding is that he tear up his infamous political blacklist of so-called 'subversive' organizations published by his Attorney General Clark."

Dobbs released to the press the text of a letter he sent today to Clark, demanding an immediate hearing, open to the public and the press, with the right to present witnesses and all necessary evidence in refutation of the blacklisting evidence. (See below for full text of Dobb's letter.)

This is the first direct challenge of the Attorney General's action. Other organizations on the list have gone into the courts, but this is the first demand for a hearing by the Department of Justice itself.

The SWP request for a hearing was initiated at the suggestion of the American Civil Liberties Union. It followed an interview by Roger Baldwin, National Director of the ACLU, with Clark. Mr. Baldwin protested the procedure of blacklisting organizations critical of the administration without hearing and by administrative decree.

Clark promised Baldwin he would grant a hearing upon the demand of any blacklisted organization. The SWP promptly accepted this challenge, not only on its own account, but in defense of the civil and political rights of all present and potential targets of this Gestapo-like practice of the political blacklist.

FARRELL DOBBS

TEXT OF DOBBS LETTER TO ATTORNEY GENERAL

New York, N. Y.
July 28, 1948

Attorney General Tom Clark,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

The Socialist Workers Party has been placed with other political parties and organizations upon the so-called "subversive list" issued by the Department of Justice. This was done without prior notification to our party, without a hearing, and without any specification of the grounds for such action.

Our party vigorously objects not only to the arbitrary and unheard-of procedure by the Department of Justice in this matter but equally to the dictatorial principle of a political blacklist. The imposition and use of this blacklist by the Truman administration strikes a severe blow to democracy in the United States and clearly restricts the constitutional rights of the Socialist Workers Party. For one party in power to attempt such suppression of the rights of another is a long step toward the establishment of a police state and thought control in our country.

The American Civil Liberties Union has informed us in a letter dated June 23 that, following its protest of the procedure of listing agencies without hearings, the Attorney General has agreed to hold a hearing for any organization challenging its blacklisting.

We hereby request that your office grant such a hearing to the Socialist Workers Party without undue delay.

We also request that you provide us in advance of the hearing with a detailed statement of all charges against our party and the specific grounds upon which the Socialist Workers Party is alleged to be "subversive" so that our representatives can properly prepare their refutation.

We further request that the hearing be open to the public and the press and that we have the right to present witnesses and submit all necessary evidence in denial of the blacklisting classification.

The request for a hearing by your office is made without prejudice to any further action the Socialist Workers Party may take in defense of its legal rights through the courts.

Our representative is ready to come to Washington and arrange a suitable date for the hearing as soon as your reply is received.

Sincerely,
FARRELL DOBBS,
Socialist Workers Party
Candidate for President
of the United States

SWP Offers CP United Front on Smith Act

Letter from the Socialist Workers Party to the Communist Party

The Central Committee
Communist Party, USA
New York, N. Y.

July 28, 1948

Comrades:

The indictment of 12 leaders of your party under the Smith Act is another sharp reminder that in this gag law the rulers in Washington have a diabolical weapon whose barb is aimed at the working class political and trade union movements.

We of the Socialist Workers Party were the first victims of the Smith Act. In 1941, eighteen of our party leaders were convicted under this Act in the famous Minneapolis Labor Case. They were imprisoned for terms ranging from 12 to 16 months. This conviction and the refusal of the Supreme Court on three different occasions to hear our appeal has set the precedent now being used against you.

We fought this conviction and the Smith Gag Act with all the power at our command. We succeeded in mobilizing hundreds of CIO and AFL unions, Negro, Jewish and other mass organizations representing over five million members. At the time of our case your party ignored the danger inherent in this conviction. Instead of helping fight it, the Communist Party sought to obstruct all efforts to arouse the labor movement to this danger.

Now that you are under attack, we, the first victims of the Smith Act, offer you our aid. We are convinced that only a united struggle by the whole labor movement—by all the tendencies within it—can defeat this conspiracy to deprive you of your democratic rights. The conviction of the Trotskyists paved the way for the present assault on the Communist Party. A conviction of the 12 indicted members of your party would in turn embolden the government to use the Smith Act for further persecution of workers' organizations.

We ask you not to permit the profound political differences between your party and ours to stand in the way of a broad united front of the working class in defense of Civil Rights. While you did not come to the defense of the Trotskyists when we were prosecuted under the Smith Act, we have already made public our opposition to your indictment and are fully prepared to further assist in your defense.

We repeat. Only the solidarity of the whole labor movement and of all tendencies within it, can defeat the Smith Act which threatens all sections of labor.

We propose that representatives of our party be included on any defense committee set up in behalf of the 12 indicted leaders of your party. This in itself would be a forceful demonstration that on the issue of Civil Rights all sections of the labor movement, despite profound differences, can and must unite in self-defense against the dictatorial political agents of monopoly capitalism.

With us would come into such a united front defense organization a considerable section of the labor movement, which we and our co-workers have already succeeded in arousing to the grave dangers of the Smith Act during the famous Minneapolis Labor Trial.

We make this proposal in the name of our Political Committee and expect to receive a favorable reply from you at an early date.

Fraternally yours,

Farrell Dobbs
For the Political Committee
of the Socialist Workers Party

Class Justice

The above cartoon by Laura Gray was published in the June 24, 1944, issue of The Militant after Roosevelt's Supreme Court had thrown out the convictions of 29 avowed Nazis of the German-American Bund on the grounds that their "right to free speech" had been violated. Six months previously 18 leaders of the Socialist Workers Party were imprisoned after the Supreme Court had three times refused even to review their case. The working-class leaders of the SWP were railroaded to jail under the Smith "Gag" Act, the same Act now being used against 12 leaders of the Communist Party.

Minneapolis Case and the CP Indictments

By Art Preis

Truman's Department of Justice will cite the Minneapolis Labor Case, in which 18 leaders of the Socialist Workers Party (Trotskyist) were railroaded to prison under the notorious Smith "Gag" Act, as the precedent for prosecution of 12 leaders of the Communist Party (Stalinist) under the same Act, it was revealed by the July 23 N. Y. Times.

TROTSKYISTS JAILED

Among the Trotskyists imprisoned in 1944 for their socialist anti-war stand were Farrell Dobbs and Grace Carlson, now running as SWP candidates for President and Vice President, and Vincent R. Dunne, SWP candidate for Senator from Minnesota. Dobbs last week denounced the latest use of the Smith Act as "a monstrous blow against civil liberties, another step in the direction of establishing a police state and thought-control in this country."

Although the Stalinists were vociferous supporters of Wall Street's war and publicly hailed the persecution of the Trotskyists, the **N.Y. Times** discloses that one of the government's chief legal weapons against the CP leaders, now slated as the second victims of the Smith Act, will be the conviction of the Trotskyists.

Frank H. Gordon, U.S. special assistant attorney general, and Irving Saypohl, chief assistant to U.S. Attorney John F. X. McGohey, who obtained the indictments against the CP leaders, "seemed certain yesterday that there was definite precedent for these true bills" against the CP defendants, reports the **Times.**

"It was understood, unofficially," says the **Times,** "that they would probably cite one group conviction under the Smith Act that has stood up in the Supreme Court of the United States — the conviction of 18 members of the Socialist Workers Party in Minneapolis, a Trotskyite unit, in 1941." The SWP convictions are the only ones ever obtained under the Smith "Gag" Act of 1940.

ISSUE WAS FREE SPEECH

The **Times** further reports that "Mr. McGohey's staff said yesterday that the convictions (of the Trotskyists) held up in the Circuit Court of Appeals in 1943 and that the Supreme Court of the United States has thrice denied motions for review." The **Times** especially emphasizes that, according to members of McGohey's staff, the "defense attorneys in the case of the Minneapolis Trotskyites argued in vain that their clients' constitutional right to free speech had been abridged. This was overruled."

The Democratic administration is again using the Smith Act charge of "advocacy of the overthrow of the government by force and violence" as the chief indictment. The Minneapolis Case defendants pointed out in their 1941 trial that this was the first federal law since repeal of the infamous Alien and Sedition Act of 1798 to make mere "advocacy" of anything a crime in the United States.

It was on these grounds that they appealed their cases three times to the U.S. Supreme Court. In an unprecedented ruling, the Court refused to review the case, although it clearly involved the constitutional question of free speech and free press.

The Minneapolis Labor Case became the "cause celebre" of civil liberties during World War II. It was compared most frequently to the famous case of the great Socialist leader Eugene V. Debs, who was similarly railroaded to prison for his anti-war stand in World War I.

LABOR SUPPORTED CASE

Labor, Negro and civil rights organizations representing more than five million members protested the conviction of the Trotskyists and the subsequent cowardly and unheard-of refusal of the Supreme Court to take a position on this vital civil rights case.

Six months later, in May 1944, the Supreme Court decided to review the case of 24 officials of the German-American Bund, convicted under the Espionage Act of 1917. This time — for avowed Nazis — the Court found their "rights of free speech" had been violated and all were freed.

During the four years when the Minneapolis Labor Case was the outstanding civil liberties issue in the country, the **Militant** and SWP warned that the Smith "Gag" Act was being sharpened on the Trotskyists in preparation for use against other working-class parties and finally the whole labor movement. The **Militant** of Feb. 26, 1944, repeated this warning in front page headlines when Stalinist Harry Bridges was cited under the Smith Act for deportation. Bridges at that time was giving wholehearted support to the government's strikebreaking program and his case was finally quashed.

The revelation that the Minneapolis Case will be the legal basis for the CP prosecutions doubly emphasizes Farrell Dobbs' statement last week: "Despite the hypocrisy, deceit and treachery of the Stalinist leaders, we have no intention of imitating their unprincipled abandonment of civil rights and outrageous treachery toward us during the war. We consider it our duty to fight the present prosecution to the limit and to alert the entire labor movement to oppose it."

Southern Lynchers At Birmingham Konklave

By Arthur Burch

The break up of the Democratic Party into its component parts offers the American people further proof of the growing intensity of the class struggle between the working people and all the oppressed, on the one hand, and the small clique of billionaire monopolists, on the other. Despite all the plaints of the liberals and the pleas of the Philip Murrays and William Greens for a more perfect harmony between management and labor, the realities of a dying capitalist order are everywhere breaking through to the surface.

Each class is beginning to move into its own orbit, preparing in its own way for the fierce showdown already visible on the horizon. In any case, it is no longer possible for the workers and Negro people to remain in the same party with the lynch inciters and poll taxers.

The workers and the Negro people were the first to grow cool to the Democratic Party. Having nowhere else to go millions of them stayed away from the polls in 1946 thereby insuring a Congressional victory for the Republican Party. Taking advantage of the absence of an independent labor party, primarily due to the shortsightedness and cowardice of the top labor bureaucrats, Wallace, backed by the Stalinists, struck out on his own by forming a new capitalist party to the "left" of Truman. Fearing a mass desertion of the Democratic Party by the Negro and white workers, Truman was then forced to make a show of concession to "the left."

But the Negro people were not so easily appeased. They are fed up with promises. They are discussing plans to take militant action to end Jim Crow, particularly in the armed forces. They let it be known in no uncertain terms that they are through with the all-inclusive Democratic Party. In a desperate effort to keep their support the Democratic machine bosses at the Philadelphia convention pushed through a "strong" civil rights plank in the platform.

Now came the turn of the Southern lynchers to show their hand. These fascist-minded bourbons stormed out of the Convention Hall in a huff and boarded trains for Birmingham where on July 17 they held their own Klan Konklave to nominate their own presidential candidates and write their own platform. The Southern lynchers nominated the Southern "liberal" Gov. J. Strom Thurmond for President and Gov. Fielding L. Wright of Mississippi for Vice President. They adopted a "states rights" platform, more accurately described as a program to maintain white supremacy in the south.

It would be a big mistake for labor to pay little or no attention to this highly important development. While the Wallace split-off has occupied the major attention of the country's capitalist press, this southern band of lynchers is actually busy forming a concentration point for a native fascist movement in this country. Theirs is not a fly-by-night movement such as Wallace's "Progressive Party" might well turn out to be. They know what they are about. The 1948 election campaign plays a secondary role in their plans. As W. W. Wright, campaign committee chairman of Mississippi has avowed: "Our feeling is that this is a battle for our life down here and it is something that is not going to be settled in the coming election."

The Socialist Workers Party has long ago warned the working people that American capitalism like its German, Italian and Spanish predecessors will not relinquish state power to a majority vote of the people. Rather than see their profits reduced and their privileges curtailed by the intervention of the people through the established democratic process, they will, long in advance of such a threat, begin to mobilize armed unlawful bands to perpetuate their rule by naked force. Only in this light can the action of the Southern lynchers be fully understood. That these modern Slavocrats themselves so understand it, is shown by their own comparison of this movement with that of the split-off group of slave owners in 1860 which walked out of the Democratic convention in South Carolina and nominated John C. Breckinridge for president in a rump gathering at Richmond.

This was the force which mobilized the then ruling Southern slavocracy against the democratic will of the American people who elected Lincoln to the presidency. They did not give up their slave-owner privileges until they had been beaten into submission after four years of civil strife. Today's gang of Southern lynchers is preparing to play a similar role. They know that they can count on the full support of the big industrialists as the social crisis matures, and the class cleavages deepen.

America's No. 1 fascist, Gerald L. K. Smith, was fully aware of the potentialities of the Dixie Slavocrats when he hastened to Birmingham in an effort to form a binding alliance. Much publicity has been given to Thurmond's refusal to join forces with G. L. K. Smith at this time. This is a calculated move and a shrewd maneuver on the part of the standard-bearer of the Southern lynchers who is as little averse to parading as a progressive as Hitler was to parading for a long time as a "socialist." But while Thurmond rants about "states rights" and "totalitarianism" his followers are mobilizing to put through their real program: to perpetuate white supremacy and race discrimination at all costs.

The workers are now being taught an important lesson in the methods and course of native American totalitarianism. In the foreign and domestic fields alike the fight against "totalitarianism" is being engineered by those whose main aim is to uphold the existing bestial profit system with its abuses of the working class and minority rights. When the Southern lynchers shout that the end of race segregation and discrimination will lead to "national chaos," what they really mean is that they will try to tear down the entire structure of modern civilization rather than submit to the will of the majority. Rule or ruin—here is the motto of the fascist-minded lynchers of Birmingham who like Gerald L. K. Smith are offering themselves as the storm troopers of the American monopolists.

This movement of the Southern lynchers must be taken seriously by the American working class. Labor must prepare well in advance, and not when it may be already too late. Unless labor organizes in alliance with the Negro people for a militant fight to extend the democratic processes to the South, unless it goes all-out to end segregation and discrimination against the Negro people, this reactionary concentration point, established at Birmingham, will be an ever growing danger to workers' rights. Labor and all the oppressed minorities must aim to wipe out this concentration of Southern lynchers before they together with the fascist scum elsewhere in the country gather enough strength to smash labor, along with Negroes, Jews and other minority groups.

Rebuild Unity of Proletarian Front, Proclaims 4th International Congress

This is the fifth installment of the Manifesto issued by the Second World Congress of the Fourth International.

The cost of the state bureaucracy, with its military budgets, its wastefulness and frauds, bears down increasingly on the bled-white national economy, and is the primary source of the inflation which is devouring the incomes of the common people. Following the incomparable example of agitation put forward by Lenin, the Fourth International unceasingly denounces the oppressive, exploitive and parasitic character of the bourgeois State. Starting out from thousands of concrete examples, we constantly oppose to it the low-cost State, the State in which the bureaucratic machine has been completely smashed and where executive functions pass over into the hands of the entire working population: THE PROLETARIAN STATE, THE STATE OF COUNCILS, THE STATE OF THE COMMUNE AND OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION.

* * *

Rebuild the Unity of the Proletarian Front

Following upon the great French strikes of 1947, the Italian elections of 1948 definitively confirmed that at the present stage unity of the proletarian front can no longer be established around one of the two traditional leaderships of the working class. Stalinism's sharp turns and cynical maneuvers have finally alienated from it a sizeable part of the working class vanguard. The strikebreaking and scab-herding of the reformist leaders renders them incapable from now on of further influencing the mass of fighting communist workers.

The two workers' bureaucracies lay down a dividing line in the proletariat corresponding to the two blocs of international powers. Voluntarily overlooking the mass of communist workers, the reformist leaders treat those who follow the Stalinist parties as agents of a "totalitarian dictatorship." The Stalinist leaders in their turn lump the social-democratic workers together with the fascists in the "American party" camp.

Just as tomorrow no workers' offensive will be possible without unity of action of the workers, so a victorious defense by the proletariat against the attacks which the bourgeoisie is now launching against the workers' purchasing power and liberties is impossible without re-establishment of unity of the proletarian front. A century ago, the *Communist Manifesto* proclaimed that the communists have no interests separate from those of their class. Today the Fourth International, *World Party of the Socialist Revolution,* constitutes the only force which is calling the workers to reconstitute the unity of their class front in action.

The trade unions are the first today to be hit by those in the workers' movement who represent interests alien to the interests of the proletariat. The slogan, "A united trade union movement to oppose a united boss class," remains the touchstone of trade union tactics of the Fourth International. To divide the unions is today definitely to facilitate the maneuvers and provocations of the bosses. But it is not at all enough to conduct a consistent struggle against trade union division. Such division is in fact, in most cases, only a particular aspect of an even deeper and more dangerous phenomenon, desertion of the trade union movement. On the other hand, trade union unity has meaning for the proletariat only in the degree that it makes unity of action more attainable.

Trade Union Bureaucracy Wants Control

But the trade union bureaucracy wants to establish an increasingly complete control over the workers' movement and to accelerate integration of the trade union apparatus into the apparatus of the capitalist State. Finally, this same bureaucracy, whose treacherous policies are sowing demoralization and constitute the worst element in trade union desertion, is endeavoring to completely stifle democracy within the trade unions and is, in practice, depriving the boldest militants of the means for presenting their ideas to the body of trade unionists. That is why the sections of the Fourth International conduct one and the same struggle for trade union unity based on a dynamic program of demands which can widen the radius of activity of the trade unions to include great unorganized masses, for the complete independence of the trade unions from the State, and for an unceasing defense of trade union democracy.

But the trend towards the limitation and suppression of workers' liberties is now evident throughout the capitalist world. MacArthur suppresses the general strike in Japan; Schumann and Moch promulgate infamous laws in France; and the Taft-Hartley law throws the rope of class "justice" around the American trade unions. The survival of capitalist rule everywhere is becoming increasingly incompatible with the preservation of democratic liberties, even of the most elementary variety.

In this situation the Fourth International calls upon the workers to bring about broad unity of action around all *democratic demands* which correspond to a real need of the working population. To give these demands the most unified form and to conduct the most consistent struggle for them means today the mobilization of the masses for the socialist revolution. Especially in *Germany* and in other occupied countries, the struggles for withdrawal of all occupation troops, for unification of the country and against all annexations and reparations, against censorship and thinly veiled military dictatorship, for really free elections, for convocation of a Constituent Assembly, for recall of those elected at the will of the people, for free meeting places, printing plants, radio, etc., for all the workers' organizations—these struggles constitute landmarks along the road of the proletarian revolution, if they are conducted in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and are tied up constantly with propaganda for international fraternization of workers and soldiers, and for the *Socialist United States of Europe.*

Workers United Front Needed

Finally, with the memory of fascist dictatorship still very fresh in the minds of the workers of most of the countries of Europe, the latter follow the signs of renewal of fascist activity (Italy) or semi-fascist (France) with growing anxiety. The Fourth International constantly reminds the workers of the terrible lessons of workers' defeats in Germany, Austria and Spain at the hands of the fascists. It constantly propagandizes for setting up the *United Front* of all workers' organizations in order to bar the road to the De Gaulles, Mosleys, Almirantes and other candidates of big capital for the executioner's role. The formation of rank and file United Front committees must be accompanied with a constant propaganda, based upon daily events, for setting up the United Front among organizations claiming to be proletarian. Constitution of a *workers' militia* based on factories, trade unions and neighborhood committees must constantly be posed in opposition to the legalistic cretinism of the treacherous leaders, who slavishly repeat the errors of their predecessors by demanding of the bourgeois State that it disarm the fascist bands. But it is above all necessary to follow attentively all the spontaneous actions of the masses in the anti-fascist struggle, actions which are taking on the boldest forms, especially in Italy. Only when the revolutionary vanguard will have learned to adopt these spontaneous actions, widen them and multiply them unceasingly, will a real, fundamental integration be established between the conscious struggle and the spontaneous upsurge of the workers and only then will it effectively win the confidence of its own class.

(Continued Next Week)

PENNSYLVANIA STATE PICNIC
SUNDAY, AUG. 17
TORCHIAS FARM
ANGELICA, PENN.
(Near Reading)
Speaker: GEORGE CLARKE
National Campaign Manager
Socialist Workers Party
For Further Information visit
MILITANT WORKERS PARTY
1303 Girard Avenue
Philadelphia, Pa.
Phone: Stevenson 4-5820

SPECIAL PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN SUB
THE MILITANT
116 UNIVERSITY PLACE NEW YORK 3, N. Y.
15 weeks **25 cents**

☐ Special 15-week subscription 25c
☐ Regular 6-month " 50c
☐ Regular 1-year " $1.00

Name .....
Address .....
City .....
State ..... Zone.....

Now on Sale
Fourth International
CONTENTS FOR JULY

The Thirteenth Convention of the Socialist Workers Party — by the Editors
Militarization of the USA and the Tasks of the Socialist Workers Party
Resolution adopted by the 13th National SWP Convention
The Second World Congress of the Fourth International — by the Editors
The Struggles of the Colonial Peoples and the World Revolution
Resolution adopted by Second World Congress
A Letter from Ceylon

25¢ a copy • yearly subscription $2
Order from Business Manager
116 University Place, N.Y. 3, N.Y.

THE MILITANT ARMY

DETROIT leads off the Presidential Election Sub Drive with 161 subscriptions obtained in the first three mobilizations. Most of them were the special 25c-15-week introductory offer.

"The campaign got off to a flying start one week after the convention," wrote Bea Allen, **Militant** agent. "A group of enthusiastic comrades rolled up 112 subs in two mobilizations the first week. In addition 16 copies of **The Militant** were sold and numerous friends made for the party.

"One Ford worker already wants to join the party and promised to participate in our next mobilization. 17 subs were sold in the shops.

"We covered the Ford Local strike meeting on Sunday and sold 19 **Militants** in competition with three other papers being given away.

"The third mobilization netted 30 subs. It was a week night, after work, so the returns were high for the time spent. Three comrades who couldn't go Monday went out Wednesday night and got 17 in two hours.

"High scorers so far are Bea Allen 19, Edie 14, Freddy 13, Harold 11 and Chuck and Julie each 10.

"A number of comrades are going to Pontiac for subs this week."

* * *

From J. P. in MEMPHIS came subs to **The Militant** and **Fourth International** and $4 donation besides. Many thanks, J.P.

* * *

Several subscribers are sending in subs: D.S. of South Dakota sent four; A.K. of Pennsylvania one besides his own renewal; W. B. of Cleveland one besides his renewal; Mrs. M.S. of E. Cleveland, her sub and a donation. E.B. of Milwaukee and a Minnesota Railroad worker ordered bundles of the Convention issue.

* * *

The flood of subs is increasing from readers who first learned of us when they heard the radio broadcasts of the SWP candidates, Farrell Dobbs for President and Grace Carlson for Vice President, or the keynote speech of James P. Cannon from the National Convention. This week they came from Connecticut, Kansas, Louisiana, Michigan, Mississippi, New Jersey, New York City and State, Ohio, Pennsylvania and Tennessee. Radio responses have already come from 45 states and Canada.

Subscriptions: $1 per year; 50c for 6 months. Foreign: $2 per year; $1 for 6 months. "Entered as second class matter Mar. 7, 1944 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the act of Mar. 3, 1879."

THE MILITANT

Published Weekly in the Interests of the Working People
THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION
116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y. (Phone: AL 4-9330)
FARRELL DOBBS, Editor

Bundle Orders (5 or more copies): 3c each in U.S., 4c each in foreign countries.
Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's policies. These are expressed in its editorials.

Vol. XII - No. 31 Monday, August 2, 1948

TROTSKY

"The human race has a right to be proud of its Aristotle, Shakespeare, Darwin, Beethoven, Goethe, Marx, Edison and Lenin. But why are they so rare? Above all, because almost without exception, they came out of the upper and middle classes. Apart from rare exceptions, the sparks of genius in the suppressed depths of the people are choked before they can burst into flame. But also because the processes of creating, developing and educating a human being have been and remain essentially a matter of chance, not illuminated by theory and practice, not subjected to consciousness and will. . . Socialism will mean a leap from the realm of necessity into the realm of freedom in this sense also, that the man of today, with all his contradictions and lack of harmony, will open the road for a new and happier race."

—LEON TROTSKY, Copenhagen Speech, 1932.

LENIN

In Defense of Civil Liberties

The Socialist Workers Party demand for an open hearing by Attorney General Tom Clark to remove the SWP from Truman's political blacklist of "subversive" organizations is the beginning of a major fight in defense of fundamental civil liberties in the United States.

Farrell Dobbs' letter to Clark, published on the front page, is a summons to every person who values his political rights and freedoms to join in the battle to halt the repressive drive of the Truman Administration.

Truman's blacklist is one of the dirtiest blots on the traditions of democracy in this country. It takes a leaf from the pages of the Nazis, who also issued blacklists of "subversive" organizations — that is, all organizations opposed to Nazi policies.

The very manner and method in which Truman's blacklist was drawn up and published reeks of the Nazi technique. The list was drawn up and issued by decree. One man — Attorney General Clark — presumed to declare what organizations are "subversive" — or *verboten!* None of the organizations so branded was given a hearing or any opportunity to challenge the listing. No specific charges were made in connection with the listing.

Truman's action was aimed at smearing organizations and political parties who oppose the policies of the Democratic Party and the bipartisan administration — particularly its war-mongering foreign policy.

Today it is the political blacklist. Tomorrow — as in Hitler's Germany — it will be concentration camps. That is the inevitable logic of such totalitarian abuses as political blacklists.

If a minority working-class political party like the SWP can be put on a blacklist by mere administrative decree for advocating policies opposed to the administration's, why can't unions be so branded if they dare to pass resolutions in opposition to government policies? What person's civil rights are safe if this blacklist stands?

The Administration blacklist is already being used to throw out staunch unionists from their jobs, as the Westinghouse case in Philadelphia shows.

That is why every defender of civil rights — every labor, Negro and civil liberties organization — should back up the SWP challenge to this country's first political blacklist.

Behind the CP Indictments

Totalitarian regimes convert all agencies of the state into the tools of a single ruling group. This group does not merely suppress all class opponents. It bends all powers of government toward silencing and destroying any one or any group which dares to criticize or oppose any of its policies in any way.

We see the trend toward such totalitarianism in the present Administration in Washington. This regime is conducting an ever more brutal and unrestrained drive to silence and suppress opponents of the Truman foreign policy. Toward this end it is cynically bending all government agencies, including the courts. The judiciary, which is supposed to be above all partisan political influence, has been completely converted into a tool of the political party in power and its particular foreign policy.

This is clearly evidenced in the case of the indictment of 12 leaders of the Communist Party. These indictments and prosecutions are designed immediately and directly as part of the Democratic Administration's drive to impose its foreign policy on the people of this country and to crush with every power of government all voices of opposition.

We can dismiss out of hand the specific charge which Truman's Department of Justice has chosen as the "legal" pretext for its attempt to railroad the Stalinist leaders to prison. This is the charge, under the notorious Smith "Gag" Act, that the Stalinists "advocated the overthrow of the government by force and violence." Such a charge is a bald-faced and monstrous frame-up.

No one knows better than the Washington prosecutors that the CP is NOT a revolutionary party. Indeed, the Stalinist Party is the most treacherous and consciously counter-revolutionary force in the world labor movement. The Democratic Administration during the war did not hesitate to work in collaboration with the Kremlin and to accept the services of the American Communist Party in suppressing genuine working-class revolutionary movements.

In 1940, you will recall, Roosevelt's government railroaded to jail Earl Browder, then the head of the CP, on a trumped-up false-passport charge. That was during the period of the Stalin-Hitler pact, when relations between Washington and Moscow were strained. No sooner were the White House and Kremlin in their wartime embrace, than Earl Browder was released from prison under a presidential pardon. The Communist Party worked hand-in-glove with the Administration as the most shameless strikebreaking agency within the labor movement.

The very indictment now pressed against the CP contains the evidence that it is directly motivated by the change in the Democratic Administration's foreign policy. The indictment specifically states that the charges are based on the activities of the CP since April 1945 — that is, since the beginning of the open break in relations between Washington and Moscow.

Capitalist frame-ups against leaders of working-class parties and tendencies are not unusual. What is unusual in the case of the 12 CP leaders, is that this frame-up is the mechanism for the particularly sinister aim of silencing an opposition to the specific foreign policy of the Democratic Administration. The government has selected the CP as the most vulnerable victim. But the blow is aimed far beyond the CP. It is aimed at ALL who would dare to speak against the Truman Doctrine. It is a blow on behalf of an advancing TOTALITARIANISM.

The NMU Elections

The crushing defeat of the Stalinists in the recently concluded CIO-National Maritime Union election, constitutes a decisive repudiation of their ten-year leadership of the largest seafaring union in the maritime industry.

Of the 180 elective offices the Stalinists lost every one contested by the opposition led by President Joseph Curran. The majorities ranged from 3 to 1 for the top office of president to 2 to 1 for the rest of the slate. Approximately 41,000 members voted over a three month period, the largest vote cast in the history of the union. They voted *finis* to Stalinist domination in the NMU!

The Stalinists have been in control of the NMU from its very inception. From 1938 their control was unchallenged and absolute. They had no organized or even vocal opposition. They had every opportunity to demonstrate, under almost ideal conditions, their boasted capacity to provide "progressive" leadership to the labor movement.

Instead, their ten-year rule produced a rank and file revolt which swept them from office by such a decisive and overwhelming majority. For a decade the Stalinists had dragged the union from one adventure to another. Radical phraseology and social demagogy were used as a cover for reactionary policies which inescapably weakened and undermined the union.

Their method of slandering, framing and crucifying critics and opponents poisoned the atmosphere in the union and threatened the destruction of democratic discussion and decision. Their ten year record of misrule earned them the aggressive hostility of the best union militants and made them discredited, hated and despised in the ranks.

At the last membership meeting of the union in the port of New York the announcement of the election results heralding the exit of the Stalinists from their commanding position was hailed by the seamen as the dawn of a new day for the National Maritime Union.

Branch Responses Splendid In $25,000 Fund Appeal

By William F. Warde, National Fund Director

The Socialist Workers Party branches have given a splendid send-off to the $25,000 Election Campaign and Party Building Fund. The first scoreboard shows that $3,494, representing 14 percent of the goal, has already been raised.

New York City can take a bow for sending in the largest amount this first week. This local is off to a jet-propelled start, having turned in over one-quarter of its $7,500 quota. At the same time that New York is busy collecting the 25,000 signatures needed to put Dobbs and Carlson on the ballot, it's doing more than its share in putting over the $25,000 campaign fund.

Percentagewise, **St. Louis** and **Allentown** top the list with half of their $50 pledges paid up.

Campaign fund manager Wally of **Minneapolis** writes: "It will no doubt interest you to know that $26 of the sum enclosed is directly attributable to **The Militant.** $25 came from a comrade in Virginia, Minnesota, who first came into contact with the SWP as the result of a **Militant** distribution on the Minnesota Iron Range during the congressional campaign two years ago. The other dollar came from a subscriber on whom I called for a renewal. He said: 'I want to help in this campaign. You people are doing some wonderful work, and I get much valuable information from your splendid paper'."

Chicago's manager says that the four Windy City branches have secured pledges of $1,750 to date; $500 from Calumet, $370 from Northside, $555 from Northwest, and $325 from Southside. They confidently except to go over the top as additional pledges are made.

Buffalo sends in a forceful reminder that its pledge at the national convention is a sizable $1,000 and that the branch fully intends to cover it.

The $45 from **Milwaukee** represents the first down payment from three comrades on their pledge. **Detroit** promises that the $200 it mailed posthaste will be promptly followed by further contributions.

The $25,000 fund that must be raised to finance the presidential campaign and strengthen the party is the largest in our history. This involves great sacrifices for the worker-members of our organization. However, we are confident that the sympathizers of the Socialist Workers Party will respond to the unexampled opportunity before us with a like enthusiasm. New friends are appearing who will do their part in seeing that lack of funds does not stand in the way of bringing the message of revolutionary socialism to the maximum number of people.

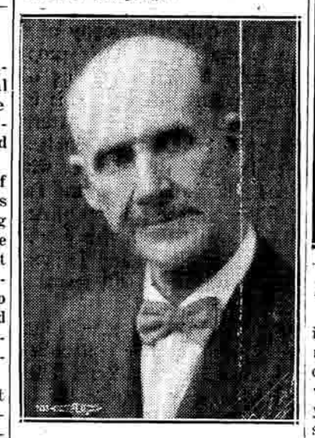
We urge all our readers to ask their friends to back the SWP presidential activities by sending their dollars and dimes to the Dobbs-Carlson Fund, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y. Your help can do much toward assuring an effective Dobbs-Carlson campaign.

Our Priceless Heritage

"Strike down liberty, no matter by what subtle and infernal art the deed is done, and the spinal cord of humanity is sundered and the world is paralyzed by the indescribable crime.

". . .To the unified hosts of American workingmen fate has committed the charge of rescuing American liberties from the grasp of the vandal horde that has placed them in peril, by seizing the ballot and wielding it to regain the priceless heritage and to preserve and transmit it without scar or blemish to the generations yet to come."

EUGENE V. DEBS, Speech at Battery D, Chicago, on his release from Woodstock Jail, November 22, 1895.



EUGENE V. DEBS

SCOREBOARD FOR $25,000 SWP Election Drive Fund

Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
Allentown	$ 50	$ 25	50
St. Louis	50	25	50
Baltimore	50	15	30
New York City	7,500	1,931	26
Philadelphia	500	100	20
Los Angeles	2,500	410	18
Minnesota	2,000	286	14
Newark	750	100	13
Detroit	1,600	200	13
Seattle	600	70	11
Milwaukee	400	45	11
Flint	400	40	10
Boston-Lynn	400	35	9
Reading	150	12	8
Chicago	2,000	112	6
Buffalo	1,000	37	4
Akron	400*	0	0
Cleveland	400	0	0
Connecticut	250	0	0
Pittsburgh	200	0	0
Rochester	25*	0	0
San Diego	50	0	0
San Francisco-Oakland	1,500	0	0
Tacoma	25*	0	0
Toledo	200	0	0
West Virginia	100	0	0
Youngstown	800*	0	0
General	1,100	51	5
Total Thru July 28	**$25,000**	**$3,494**	**14**

* tentative

Letters on Broadcasts

From the flood of appreciations, criticisms and inquiries coming into our office in response to the SWP Convention broadcasts, we are printing these excerpts of a number of these letters.

WANTS SWP IN KANSAS CITY

I read a great many of your articles with interest and approbation. I too realize your concern and interest in the common man, and your discontent with the racial prejudice of the United States. The only question I would like answered is this: When you profess such tolerance to the Negro, why then does it not also extend to the Jew and the Catholic. After all Socialism is or should be based on the inalienable right of equality, and there is no justice or idealism in the belittlement of a rightful belief or birth.

If I might be so bold as to make a suggestion — I noticed in your listing of cities that Kansas City was completely ignored except in the criticism of Truman. If as you claim the politics are so dissolute I think that you would realize the merit of establishing a branch here.

Miss M. E.
Kansas City, Kans.

* * *

APPLAUDS OUR FEARLESSNESS

We heard your speech over the radio last night. We admired your fearlessness of expression on our present day economic problems. Would you please forward copy of this speech of July 2.

Mrs. L. D.
Appleton, Wis.

* * *

ENJOYED DOBBS SPEECH

I have heard your candidate's speech, who you have presented for president. Enjoyed it very much and as a registered Socialist I would be pleased to get any information concerning the party and its aims from time to time.

L.R.G.
Hummelstown, Pa.

STENCH FROM READING, PA.

A worker here was recently discharged from his job for having been forced to eat from garbage cans, due to the fact that the Nazi-owned Reading Hospital did not pay him enough in wages to buy food. The same people who own this place own the Berkshire knitting mills where a gigantic strike took place a few years ago.

The average wage for employees in the Hospital are about $15 a week for a 60-hr. week and one meal per day. The supervisory force consists of ex-brass hats.

If you want to publish this I can furnish you with facts (proof).

A Worker, R.H.

* * *

A LEGITIMATE QUESTION

I receive your **MILITANT** but still don't get any meaning of Socialist. What is the difference between our Government now and Socialism. I would be very interested if I may learn more about socialism so send me any important literature you have on this type of Government. Tell me difference between communism and socialist and democratic for I am a democrat for the present.

E. V.
Clurier, Iowa

FROM PALMYRA, PA.

After listening to the acceptance speeches of both nominees of the Socialist Workers Party, you offered to send for the asking the literature of your party and convention without obligation. Please send to me.

H.S.

* * *

FINDS US "COMPLETELY UNREALISTIC"

I am not a supporter of the Socialist Workers Party but nevertheless find **The Militant** interesting. Do not, however, consider me a prospect as I have decided to support the candidacy of Edward Teichert of the Socialist Labor Party for president. By temperament and conviction (I was a C.O.). I am unable to support your program of accepting military training. I consider it completely unrealistic and entirely unfitted to the conditions existing in this country. Nevertheless send me the paper and I will read it with interest and an open mind.

H.F. L.I.
Woodside, N.Y.

* * *

FROM COHOES, N.Y.

Inasmuch as I cannot agree with your philosophy I am asking you to remove my name from your mailing list and don't send me any more literature.

E.J.C.

WORKERS IN FACTORIES EAGER FOR MESSAGE OF REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM

Editor:

The workers in the factories are ready to respond to the appeal of Trotskyism. I have observed in my own shop an eager response already and my campaign is only beginning. Having set myself a goal of 25 votes for Dobbs and Carlson (out of some 260 workers), I began by asking individuals whom they were going to vote for. Most of them said they wouldn't vote at all! A few said they might vote for Wallace, but they weren't sure. Even those who admitted to supporting Truman (2 or 3) were remarkably unenthusiastic. I found only one Dewey supporter, and he isn't sure that he may not vote for Wallace.

The whole atmosphere is one of uncertainty. The workers feel frustrated. They have a powerful weapon — the ballot — but feel powerless to use it. I have found that being known in my shop as a Trotskyist, far from being a handicap, gives one prestige and some authority. Here, the workers feel, is someone who knows what he wants; a man who has made up his mind, a solid rock in a whirlpool of doubt and confusion. And already several workers who were floundering in quicksand now find themselves on solid ground — they are voting for Dobbs and Carlson.

Among them are two former Wallace supporters, who made up their minds; others are on the way.

Avowed Truman supporters and workers who have shown no previous interest in politics are also turning an attentive ear to the Trotskyist program. The response is already so encouraging that one of the former Wallaceites — now a **Militant** reader and a Dobbs-Carlson supporter — expresses constant amazement. "These people won't listen to your program," he used to insist. "They only talk baseball and horse racing."

One incident, I believe, is especially indicative of the weak hold the capitalist parties have even on their outspoken supporters among the workers. A Truman supporter was arguing against Dewey. "Hoover," he said, "brought the last depression. Remember? Dewey will do the same."

"Truman won't help," another worker broke in. "He won't prevent a depression any more than Hoover or Dewey."

"That's right," the Truman supporter replied.

And that ended the argument.

S. R.
New York

ANXIOUS TO KNOW MORE

Heard your speech tonight and it has me quite anxious to know more about your platform for the coming presidential election. I would appreciate it very much if your would send me a copy of the speech and a list of the candidates who are running as soon as possible.

H.W.T.
Seattle, Wash.

* * *

HAS THE RIGHT IDEA

The workers gave the capitalists the power and the money and the ability to step all over them by voting for the democrats and the Republicans, the Siamese twins. They also have the right to stop right here and vote for Dobbs and Grace. The ax is ever laid to the root of the tree. The capitalists ever have to expand or bust, they do not compromise. Don't you do it, either. Don't forget; dehorn every last one of the capitalists by voting for Dobbs and Carlson.

L.B.C.
Hamilton, Ohio

* * *

WAUSAU — Please send me all available information on your party and platform in this coming election for presidency.

P.K., Jr.

Trotskyists Electioneer In Bedford Stuyvesant

Editor:

On Friday, July 16, we got a striking illustration of the attractive power of our Trotskyist program, and the response we can get in the election campaign. At an open-air meeting in the Bedford-Stuyvesant section in Brooklyn, where predominantly Negroes live, we sold about 85 **Militants** and many pamphlets.

The audience was enthusiastic in its applause of the speakers. When one listener insisted that "America is the greatest country and you should appreciate living here," he was promptly answered by a member of the audience, who related how he and the rest of the Negro people are treated here.

When a Stalinist heckler wanted to know what our party is actually doing in the Negro struggle, he was answered by a young Negro comrade, who told just how we have participated in the Negro struggle not only in Bedford-Stuyvesant but throughout the country. The audience was so impressed with the reply that about 25 **Militants** were sold right from the platform.

A young Negro girl, when asked to buy a **Militant**, took a whole bundle and sold 15 on the corner.

Perhaps the best discussion took place after our street meeting was formally ended. About twenty young Wallace supporters, both white and Negro, came along and engaged our comrades in heated debate for almost an hour. At the end six of them signed interest cards, requesting to be notified of our meetings and forums.

H.R.
Brooklyn

Segregation to Stay Says Gen. Bradley

One day after Truman, Commander-in-Chief of all U.S. armed forces, issued his order for "equality of treatment and opportunity," his Chief of Staff, Gen. Omar Bradley, made it clear that racial segregation will stay.

"The Army will put men of different races in different companies," said Gen. Bradley on July 27. "It will change that policy when the nation as a whole changes it." He added: "The Army is not out to make any social reforms."

ATTENTION CHICAGO & DETROIT READERS

GRACE CARLSON

SWP Vice-Presidential Candidate
will speak
Friday, Aug. 13 - 8:00 P. M.
777 W. ADAMS STREET
CHICAGO, ILL.
and in
DETROIT, MICH.
Tuesday, Aug. 17 - 8:00 P. M.
CIVIC CENTER
John R. and Erskine
Auspices:
Socialist Workers Party

Activities of 'Militant' Readers and the SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

AKRON—4 So. Howard St., 2nd fl. Mon. through Fri., 7 to 9 p. m.; Branch meeting every Thurs. 8 p.m.

BALTIMORE—1121 E. Baltimore St., Phone Wolfe 1753J, Daily 9 a.m. -9 p.m., O. Coover St., MILITANT and FOURTH INTERNATIONAL on sale.

BOSTON—30 Stuart St., Sat., 1-5 p. m., Tues., 7:30-9:30 p. m.

BUFFALO—Militant Forum, 629 Main St., 2nd fl. Phone MAdison 3960. Every afternoon except Sun.

CHICAGO—777 W. Adams (corner Halsted). Phone DEArborn 4767. Daily except Sun., 11 a. m.-5 p. m. Library, bookstore.

CLEVELAND—Militant Forum, Sun., 8:30 p. m., Peck's Hall, 1446 E. 82nd St. (off Wade Park Ave.).

DETROIT—6108 Linwood Ave. Phone TY 7-6267. Mon. through Sat., 12-5 p. m.

FLINT—Socialist Workers Party Hall, 215 E. Ninth Street. Phone: 2-2496. Open House Saturday evenings.

LOS ANGELES—Militant Publ. Assn., Room 201, 124 W. 6th St. Phone VAndyke 8061.

SAN PEDRO—Militant, 1008 S. Pacific Room 214.

WATTS—Militant, 1720 E. 97th St.

LYNN, (Mass.)—44 Central Sq., Rm. 11, Sat. 1-5 p. m. Discussion, Tues., 7:30 p. m.

MILWAUKEE—Militant Bookshop, 608 S. 5th St. Mon. through Fri., 7:30-9:30 p. m. Phone BRoadway 9645.

MINNEAPOLIS—10 So. 4th St. Phone Main 7781. Daily except Sun., 10 a. m.-6 p. m. Library, bookstore.

NEW BRITAIN, (Conn.)—Militant Discussion Group every Fri. 7:30 p.m. Militant Labor Club, 165 Main St. (next to Strand Theatre).

NEW HAVEN — Labor School, 855 Grand Ave., 3rd fl., Tues. 8-10:30 p. m.

NEWARK—423 Springfield Ave. Phone Bigelow 3-2574. Reading room. Open daily, 12-4 and 7-10 p.m.

NEW YORK CITY (Hq.)—116 University Pl. Phone GR. 5-8149.

EAST SIDE—251 E. Houston St. 1st fl.

HARLEM—103 W. 110 St., Rm. 23 Phone MO. 2-1866. Open discussion. Thurs., 8 p. m.

BRONX—1034 Prospect Ave., 1st fl. Phone LU. 9-0101.

BROOKLYN—635 Fulton St. Phone ST. 3-7433.

CHELSEA—130 W. 23rd St. Phone CH. 2-9434.

OAKLAND (Cal.)—Write P. O. Box 1351, Oakland 4.

PHILADELPHIA — 1303-05 W. Girard Ave., 2nd fl. Phone Stevenson 4-5820. Open daily. Forum, Fri., 8 p. m.

PITTSBURGH—1418 Fifth Ave., 2nd fl. Sunday evening discussions on "The SWP Election Program". Every week, 7:30 P. M.

SAN DIEGO (Cal.) — For information write P. O. Box 857.

SAN FRANCISCO—1739 Fillmore Ave., 4th fl. Phone FI. 6-0410. Daily except Sun., 12-4:30 p. m.

SEATTLE—Maynard Bldg., 1st Ave., South & Washington. Phone Main 9278. Mon. through Sat., 12-5 p. m. Branch meeting, Fri., 8 p. m. Library, bookstore.

ST. LOUIS—1023 N. Grand Blvd., Rm. 312. Forum, Thurs., 7-30-10 p. m

ST. PAUL—340 Cedar St. Phone Garfield 1137. Open daily. Bookstore.

TACOMA (Wash.)—Write P. O. Box 1079. Meeting, Wed., 8 p. m., Odd Fellow Hall, 6th & Fawcett.

TOLEDO — Weekly meetings every Friday night at 7:30, Kapps Hall, 413 Summit, Room 1, top fl.

YOUNGSTOWN — 115 E. Federal St., Rm. 302. Phone 3-1355. Wed., Fri., Sat., 1:30 to 4 p. m.

THE MILITANT

VOLUME XII — MONDAY, AUGUST 2, 1948 — NUMBER 31

Harlem 'Holiday' Called to Fight Army Jim Crow

By Dinah Sanders

New York City, July 27 — Plans for a "Holiday in Harlem" were made last night at a Conference called by the New York Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People for the formation of a Council to Abolish Segregation in the Armed Forces. The Council hopes to shut down Harlem completely on Saturday Sept. 25, the day set for a gigantic protest demonstration against the draft of Negro youth, for the second time in a generation, into a Jim Crow Army.

Fourteen organizations were represented at this first formative meeting. Among the organizations sending representatives or observers are the following:

National Maritime Union; Brotherhood of Painters, District Council 9; Social Service Employees Union, Local 19; U.O.P.-W.A., CIO, Local 19; American Veterans Committee; Lenox-Fifth Avenue Tenants Association; Friendship House, Virginia State College; Alpha Kappa Alpha and Zeta Phi Beta sororities, and the NAACP.

RESOLUTIONS PASSED

Two resolutions were passed unanimously by the Conference. The first specified that the Council be made up of delegated representatives from the participating organizations, and be responsible for carrying out the proposed plan of action, using the New York Branch Offices of the NAACP as headquarters for the Council.

The second resolution made provisions for a campaign beginning immediately to culminate on Sept. 25 in the shutdown of Harlem and a parade down Fifth Avenue to Columbus Circle. During the campaign the Council will use every available means to insure the success of the "Holiday in Harlem," including press publicity, street corner demonstrations and speeches, leaflets, etc.

Speakers and delegates at the Conference expressed confidence that this action would stimulate similar actions in other parts of the country. Herbert Hill, elected permanent chairman of the Council, made reference to the 39th Annual Conference of the National NAACP held recently in St. Louis, where a resolution was passed calling for a nation-wide mass campaign against Jim Crow in the armed forces. This resolution ordered the National Office of the NAACP to call a conference of all Negro organizations to inaugurate the campaign.

The date for the next meeting of the Council to Abolish Jim Crow in the Armed Forces was set for 8 p.m., Tuesday, Aug. 3, to be held at 2272 Seventh Ave., Manhattan, offices of the New York branch of the NAACP. All trade unions and other organizations interested in joining the fight against segregation were urged to send representatives to this meeting.

CIO Official Critical Of Navy Dep't in Westinghouse Case

In a letter to Secretary of the Navy Sullivan dated July 15, 1948, James B. Carey, Secretary-Treasurer of the National CIO scored as "abrupt and brutal" the discharge, at the instigation of the Navy Department, of two union militants — Herbert Lewin and Frank Garner — from the South Philadelphia plant of the Westinghouse Electric Co.

After solidarizing himself with the protest sit-down strike of 6,500 Westinghouse workers, on July 12, which forced the company to reinstate both men, Carey goes on to point out that the Westinghouse case "reveals in startling detail the highly provocative procedures toward working people of industrial management, and in this instance, the Department of the Navy must be charged with a full share in the provocation."

"It is highly possible," the letter continues, "even probable, that Garner and Lewin are not in agreement with some of the policies of the Westinghouse concern or with those of the Department of Defense, or even with those of the United States Government. . .

"However, disagreement with the autocracy of the Westinghouse concern or with the autocracy which that concern attributes in this instance to the Department of the Navy, is by no means evidence of disloyalty to this government. I maintain on the contrary that it is evidence of vigorous loyalty to the democratic procedure under which we are presumed to live."

Our Civil Rights Are in Danger!

Radio Address by Farrell Dobbs over WPEN

Farrell Dobbs, SWP candidate for President, delivered an important radio talk over Station WPEN, Philadelphia, on Saturday, July 24, at 10:05 P. M. Full text follows:

Friends of the radio audience:

A burning issue of this election campaign is civil rights—the precious civil rights of the American people.

Freedom of speech, freedom of press, the right to think and to speak your thoughts are under attack today. Powerful forces against democracy are at work within America. They seek to undermine the precious freedoms won by the bitter struggles of generations of American working people.

The native tyranny which threatens America finds its precedents in the book burning of Adolph Hitler and the thought-control of the Japanese Mikado.

If these sinister forces were to succeed, they would not stop until a cop stands at every workbench, until the unions are under police supervision and police spies are snooping in every workers' home.

This is the philosophy of the Thomas-Rankin committee. This is the aim of their proposed Mundt Bill. This is the philosophy behind the firing of government employes by the Truman administration. This is the aim of the so-called subversive list published by Attorney General Clark. This is the philosophy behind the Republican-led Congressional committees which have been conducting witchhunting investigations in the unions. This is the aim of the Taft-Hartley Act.

These are the realities of American politics today. Use these realities to test the lavish promises to defend civil rights made by the Republican and Democratic Conventions here in this city. That analysis will reveal a compound of lies, deceit and hypocrisy.

While these lies were being concocted by the Republicans and Democrats, their real policy was being carried out behind closed doors in New York. The results have been in the headlines all week. I refer to the indictment of the leaders of the Communist Party under the Smith Act.

This is a subject I feel fully qualified to discuss. I didn't learn about it in books.

I learned about the Smith Act in a courtroom and a prison cell in Sandstone, Minnesota. Everything about this law—though it was enacted eight year ago—is as fresh in my mind as if it happened yesterday.

The author of this law was Howard W. Smith, a poll-tax Congressman from Virginia, a defender of the Jim Crow system and an outspoken foe of the organized labor movement.

The law was passed as part of the preparations for entry into the Second World War long before the attack on Pearl Harbor.

This law directly violates the Constitution of the United States. It tramples on the Bill of Rights. It makes the teaching and advocacy of the principles of socialism and the 100 year-old doctrines of Marx and Engels a crime punishable by prison sentences up to 10 years.

Labor and liberal opinion was outraged by the introduction of this bill. The CIO, the AFL, the American Civil Liberties Union and outstanding personalities from all walks of life protested the passage of this gag act.

Within one year after its adoption, I was indicted and convicted under the Smith Act.

My running mate, Dr. Grace Carlson, the vice-presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, was sentenced along with me to serve 16 months in a federal penitentiary. Sixteen other leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and the CIO General Drivers Union of Minneapolis shared this same fate. This was the outcome of the now famous Minneapolis Labor Trial of 1941.

What was our crime?

We opposed the militarization of the American youth.

We denounced the conspiracy of American monopoly capitalism to drag the country into war.

We exposed the lie that it would be a war against totalitarianism.

We predicted that the American capitalists would use their victory to prop up kings and military dictators abroad and to undermine the freedom of the working people here in America.

We said that this war would not bring peace to the world.

We predicted that monopoly capitalism would plunge the American people into one war after another in their insane drive to dominate the world.

And that was not all.

We opposed discrimination in the armed forces and demanded democratic rights for the rank and file soldiers and sailors. Was that too much to ask for an army supposedly fighting for democracy?

And we committed still another crime.

We defended the democratic right of rank and file union members to have a leadership of their own choosing which would fight for their interests.

In brief, our crime was that we told the truth.

But under the Smith Act, the truth is subversive. And so we were convicted.

We challenged the constitutionality of the Smith Act. But the Supreme Court of the United States refused to hear our appeal and we were railroaded to the penitentiary on New Year's Day, 1944.

From our prison cells we demanded a presidential pardon. Trade unions representing more than 5,000,000 workers supported our demand. But the White House turned a deaf ear to this mighty cry for justice and we rotted in jail until our sentences expired.

That is the story of the Smith Act as I know it from bitter experience.

Tonight, speaking as the presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, I propose to bring the perpetrators of this injustice—and their agents—before the bar of public opinion.

Who was responsible for the trial and conviction of the 18 leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and the CIO General Drivers Union?

The groundwork was prepared by Republican and Democratic Congressmen who joined together to pass the Smith Act.

Former President Roosevelt speeded the conspiracy on its way when he personally ordered the Department of Justice and the FBI to bring us to trial.

The conspiracy was rounded out by the refusal of the Supreme Court to hear our appeal from the conviction.

There was a silent partner to this conspiracy who is going to follow me on the radio tonight, probably to talk about civil rights.

His name is Henry Wallace. He was a member of the presidential cabinet when the Smith Act was passed and signed. He uttered not one word of protest.

Wallace was Vice President of the United States when we were tried, convicted and jailed.

Wallace held his tongue though justice was trampled underfoot.

This is the way with Wallace. Just as he failed while holding public office to raise his voice against the Minneapolis witch hunt, so he failed to lift a finger against Jim Crow practises right under his eyes in Washington.

This week Wallace issued a statement denouncing the persecution of the Communist Party under the Smith Act. We agree with Wallace that this action must be opposed and fought as a threat to the civil rights of the American people.

But we notice a strange omission in his statement. Wallace steers clear of the first prosecution under the Smith Act—directed against the Socialist Workers Party—carried out while he held high public office.

Can it be that Wallace has two policies on civil rights? One while he is in office and another while he is trying to get elected to office?

And now comes the most ironical part of this whole episode. The leaders of the Communist Party, who have just been indicted under the Smith Act, cheered the conviction of the leaders of the Socialist Workers Party under this same anti-democratic law. Then, adding infamy to treachery, the Stalinist leaders demanded that the government suppress our weekly newspaper, The Militant.

Such disloyalty is in the nature of Stalinism. But it is contrary to the finest traditions of the working class movement and the principles of socialism. It is therefore a matter of course for us to defend the Stalinist leaders against this new witchhunt under the Smith Act. We do this despite our well-known opposition to the Communist Party because of its long record in betraying the working class — despite their stab-in-the-back when we were being prosecuted.

Let no one be deceived into thinking that this is only an attack upon the Communist Party. Read the long list of organizations listed, without trial or hearing, as subversive by Attorney-General Clark. And a flick of the pen can add organizations that consider themselves safe today.

I want to serve public notice here and now that the Socialist Workers Party is going to fight this government blacklist to the limit.

Two weeks ago President Truman came here to Philadelphia to profess his great devotion to civil rights. But while he was holding forth, the Navy Department, which is under his command, used the Truman-Clark blacklist to fire two CIO members from the Westinghouse plant in this city.

No doubt you have read about this incident in your local paper. The CIO workers at Westinghouse rose in indignation against this government interference in its internal affairs. They recognized that if the government and the corporation succeeded, the road would be opened to the complete destruction of their union.

By a splendid strike demonstration, the union forced the government and the corporation to retreat. The two victimized workers were reinstated.

I hope some of these Westinghouse unionists are listening tonight. I want to congratulate you and your fellow workers for your vigilance and militancy. You acted not only for yourself but for the entire labor movement. You have revived a great tradition and a great slogan:

"An Injury to One is an Injury to All!"

That is the way to repel attacks on the labor movement. And that is the way to safeguard civil rights.

The events at Westinghouse symbolize the sweeping character of the march of reaction which we foretold from the courtroom in Minneapolis seven years ago.

We predicted that monopoly capitalism would use the power gained through the war to try to strangle the trade unions. The Taft-Hartley Law is the first step towards that objective.

We predicted that the capitalists would try to load the costs of the war on to the working people. Billions in profits on one side and the staggering rise in living costs on the other bears out our prediction.

We said that native fascism with its brutal persecution of the Negro people would be an inevitable consequence of the war. And now the new "White Supremacy" party, spawned by the Democratic Party, shows as ominous drift in that direction.

We predicted endless wars until capitalism was abolished. This week the whole world held its breath expecting an explosion in Berlin.

We predicted that the power-drunk Wall Street gang would seek to introduce permanent Prussianization of the American Youth. Next month registration begins for the conscript army of World War III.

We have no reason to change our mind. We recant not one single word of what we said in 1941.

We are more confident today than seven years ago of the coming victory of the working class.

As a result of those events, millions are listening to our message today where only a few listened before.

The great masses were jarred out of their rut by the war. Everybody was touched if not by tragedy, at least by hardship. The few moorings that remain to hold life together are now being torn away by dread prospects of insecurity, depression and atomic catastrophe.

Powerful forces of thought and action are being set in motion. The will of the people to act in their self-defense will not be harnessed by a Smith Gag Act or a Mundt police state bill.

A mighty upheaval of the oppressed and the exploited of the whole world is in the making.

Their instinctive striving for a solution to their grave problems must lead them to our program.

We say to the working people of America:

You can secure peace only by abolishing the capitalist system which breeds war and profits from it.

You can spread abundance to all by nationalizing the industries and resources of the country and operating them under the control of the workers.

You can bring into being the only truly democratic form of government by taking the road to independent political action to establish a Workers and Farmers Government.

Vote for Civil Rights!

Vote for Peace!

Vote for Socialism!—by voting for the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party.

Join the Socialist Workers Party!

The Wallace Party Is Launched

By George Clarke

Christening themselves the Progressive Party, the Wallaceites made their debut last week in Philadelphia as the third capitalist party on the national political arena.

The name is symbolic. The new party is truly representative of the tradition and role payed by other parties bearing the same name in the history of American politics. The party of Theodore Roosevelt and the party of La-Follette, both called "Progressive," came before the American people with radical-sounding programs, bold, defiant proclamations against the "powers-that-be" and freely-given promises.

Both parties served as safety-valves for the widespread discontent among farmers, the lower middle class of the cities and sections of the workers.

The radical demands embodied in the Wallace program, the defiant speeches of the party's spokesmen, the high proportion of youth and Negroes at the Convention — all reflect the existing mass discontent. They reflect disillusionment with the outcome of the war, bitterness with inflationary prices and the lack of housing, anger at the continuation and worsening of the Jim Crow system, and above all hostility to the war plans of the bipartisan coalition.

MANY PROMISES

The program is generous and appealing in its promises on all these questions, more radical than

WALLACE

any party of its size has ever been before. Yet never once does the program come to grips fundamentally with these questions, never once does it dig down to the capitalist profit system — the root cause of all these evils. Yet it is precisely this failure that explains the shabby record of the Wallaces and Tugwells while in office and makes future betrayals inevitable.

To Henry Wallace, "the best defender of the capitalist system," in his own words, the nation fell from grace when Roosevelt died. This was the theme of his acceptance speech and it was to Roosevelt's policies that he dedicated himself and his party. Yet it was Roosevelt — with Wallace's help — who deliberately dragged the people into the last war. It was Roosevelt's war economy which favored the monopoly interests, created new billionaires and saddled the people with a huge debt, the outstanding cause of inflation today. It was Roosevelt — with Wallace's help — who perpetuated the Jim Crow army.

Only in one place has the program of the party moved somewhat to the "left" — as a result of the demagogy of Truman. The Progressive Party now proposes to nationalize some of the largest banks, the railroads, public utilities and industries dependent on government subsidy as a means to stop inflation. The outcome of such nationalization is at best questionable since the giant trusts, steel, oil, automobile, chemical, mining and packing are not to be touched — on the insistence of Wallace himself — and those proposed for government ownership will not come under the control of the workers. In time of depression, the owners of the industries designated by the Progressive Party Convention may very well favor nationalization as a means of continuing their profits.

Opposition to militarization and to a Third World War — this was the theme of the convention and the platform of the Progressive Party. Yet this is the greatest of all delusions sown by Wallace and company. By pointing to Harry Truman and his cabinet — and not to the capitalist profit system whom they represent — as the cause of the theratening war, the Wallace Party disarms its followers and prepares for capitulation at the outbreak of war, a promise already made by Wallace himself. By proposing to solve the war danger by trusting to a refurbished United Nations and to the skill of Wallace in negotiating with Stalin for a peaceful division of spoils, the movement for peace is led down a blind alley.

The struggle against Jim Crow was placed in the forefront of the convention. The keynote speech was delivered by a Negro publisher. This is unprecedented in American capitalist politics and reflects Wallace's drive for support among the Negro people. More significant than the fanfare, was the silence with which Wallace's record on this question while in office was glossed over. The delegates still needed experience to discover that capitalist politicians seldom match words with deeds.

FEW TRADE UNIONISTS

Most revealing of the true nature of the party was the small number of trade unionists at the convention. The credential committee report showed that out of 3240 delegates 529, or only one-sixth were members of trade unions. The specific weight of this number is actually much lower, since many of the 529 represented no one but themselves.

The lack of trade union representation enabled the Wallace-Stalinist combination to run the convention in an arbitrary manner. Dissident proposals and amendments got short shrift from Lee Pressman, the Stalinist Secretary of the Platform Committee and by Marcantonio, the Stalinist fellow-traveller chairman of the Rules Committee.

Firm control of the national committee was placed in the hands of the leadership which is empowered to appoint 40 members on the national committee besides those elected by State delegations at conventions.

Except for Wallace's statement that "Communist Party support" represented a "liability" and his hope for the affiliation of the anti-Communist ADA, no rift appeared in the coalition. The Stalinists were too powerful a factor at the convention for Wallace to risk a conflict with them. They were the main organizers; the trade union delegations and leaders came largely from CP controlled unions; the largest delegations, such as the New York ALP, the California IPP, the Illinois Progressive Party, the fraternal and language organizations were Stalinist dominated.

The Stalinists made use of their commanding position to kill any criticism of the Stalin regime and its foreign policies, going to the ludicrous extreme of reversing the platform committee on the question of Macedonia, so as to support the Cominform against Tito. In the same way, they quashed an amendment which would have explicitly committed the convention to support a struggle for the restoration of the civil rights of the 18 Minneapolis victims of the Smith Act.

Max Bedacht Purged For "Abusing" CP

Max Bedacht, long a prominent Stalinist, one of the founders of the American Communist Party and IWO National Secretary in the Browder era, has been purged by the Foster-Dennis leadership.

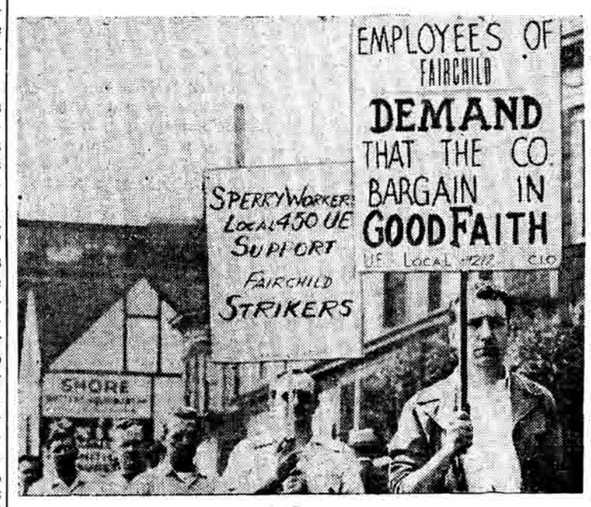
Bedacht's downfall took place at the recent state convention of the New Jersey CP where he was "unseated as a delegate." Daily Worker, July 19, charges Bedacht with "falsifying" his real views (reputedly "a variant of Earl Browder's") and with "violent abuse" of the CP "national leadership."

Rank and File Caucus Sweeps NMU Elections

NEW YORK July 26 — The official tally in the three month long election contest of the CIO National Maritime Union was released tonight.

Joseph Curran, leader of the rank and file caucus, received 28,043 votes and his Stalinist opponent Frederick "Blackie" Meyers, received 9,640 votes. The average majorities ran over 2 to 1 on the rest of the 131 official posts contested.

Solidarity with Fairchild Strike



Wallace Says He'll Back Civil Rights for the 18

According to the N.Y. Times, July 6th, Henry Wallace admitted to a press conference in Philadelphia that he had remained silent when the Smith "Gag" Act was up for adoption before Congress in 1940.

Norman Thomas, who asked the question, then asked if Wallace would condemn the conviction of the Trotskyists under that law as he had condemned the indictment of the Stalinists.

"Would you support an application to the President for the restoration of their civil rights to the convicted Trotskyists?" Mr. Thomas asked.

"Of course I would," Mr. Wallace replied.

"I'll see that you get the chance," rejoined Mr. Thomas.

SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT

Other Locals Aid Fairchild Strike

NEW YORK, N.Y., July 26 — 450 production workers of CIO United Electric Workers Local 1217 today entered the fifteenth week of their strike against the Fairchild Camera and Precision Instrument Company in Queens. The strike is more important than the number involved would indicate, because other Queens County employers are giving support to Fairchild, using this as a test of strength, and other Queens County UE locals, such as Sperry and Ford Instrument, are lending financial aid and support on the picket lines to the Fairchild strikers.

A phoney back-to-work movement led by a blind man has been unable to muster more than a handful of supporters. Office workers who were allowed to go in at first have been turned back the last week with some clashes resulting.

The company provoked the strike by offering a contract which took away all seniority rights.